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SUBJECT: SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY: SOVIET WEEKLY NEW TIMES REVIEWS FOUR-
YEAR HISTORY OF SINO-SOVIET BORDER TALKS AND BLAMES
PRC FOR REJECTING NUMEROUS SOVIET "CONCRETE PROPOSALS."
ARTICLE EMPHASIZES IMPORTANCE OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS
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IN WORLD POLITICAL CONTEXT AND REINTERATES BREZHNEV

WARNING TO THOSE IN WEST WHO SEEK TO PROFIT FROM DISPUTE. SOVIET DILEMMA OVER WHETHER PRC IS SOCIALIST COUNTRY IS APPARENT BOTH IN NEW TIMES PIECE AND IN ANOTHER MORE THEORETICAL ARTICLE. END SUMMARY.

2. NEW TIMES OCTOBER 5 ARTICLE BY G. NIKOLAYEV TAKES STOCK OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AFTER FOUR YEARS OF PEKING BORDER TALKS. NIKOLAYEV IS PROBABLY PSEUDONYM FOR WELL-INFORMED SOVIET CHINA-WATCHER; WE HAVE A HUNCH IT COULD BE RETIRED AMBASSADOR NIKOLAY FEDORENKO. EXPANDING ON BREZHNEV'S TASHKENT THEME THAT IMPROVEMENT OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS DEPENDS ON DEEDS, NOT WORDS, NIKOLAYEV CITES SOVIET "CONCRETE PROPOSALS" IN PEKING TALKS WHICH HAVE BEEN REJECTED BY PRC SINCE 1969:

A. SOVIETS PROPOSED MORE THAN ONCE THAT TWO COUNTRIES REAFFIRM OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED UNDER 1950 FRIENDSHIP TREATY.

B. SOVIETS TABLED A DRAFT TREATY ON JANUARY 15, 1971, PROVIDING THAT NEITHER COUNTRY WOULD USE ARMED FORCE AGAINST THE OTHER, INCLUDING BAN ON USE OF CONVENTIONAL, MISSILE AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

C. SOVIETS PROPOSED IN JUNE YVOUE THAT TWO SIDES CONCLUDE TREATY OF NON-ATTACK. TREATY WOULD BAN ATTACK WITH ANY TYPE OF WEAPONS "ON LAND, SEA OR IN THE AIR," AND WOULD RULE OUT THREAT OF SUCH ATTACK.

D. ON MORE MUNDANE LEVEL, SOVIETS HAVE VARIOUSLY PROPOSED RENEWAL OF WORKING RELATIONSHIPS IN FIELDS OF HEALTH CARE, SPORTS AND BETWEEN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETIES.

3. AS FOR BORDER QUESTION ITSELF, NIKOLAYEV ACKNOWLEDGES CHOU STATEMENT AT TENTH PARTY CONGRESS THAT DISPUTE SHOULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY, WITHOUT RESORT TO THREAT. AGAIN SEEKING TO SHOW GAP BETWEEN WORD AND DEED, HE CITES FAILURE OF PEKING TO DISAVOW 1964 MAO COMMENT TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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JAPANESE JOURNALISTS THAT CHINA HAD NOT YET PRESENTED ITS CLAIM TO REGION EAST OF LAKE BAIKAL; 1972 CHINESE ATLAS SHOWING CLAIM TO 1.5 MILLION SQUARE KILOMETERS OF SOVIET TERRITORY; CURRENT PEKING EFFORTS TO INCITE OTHERS (READ JAPAN) TO PRESS TERRITORIAL CLAIMS; AND CHOU'S SARCASTIC REMARK AT TENTH CONGRESS THAT CHINA EVIDENTLY EXPECTED TO SHOW GOOD WILL BY CEDING ENTIRE AREA NORTH OF THE GREAT WALL. WITHOUT DIS-

CLOSING DETAILS, NIKOLAYEV ASSERTS THAT SOVIET BORDER PROPOSALS WELL KNOWN TO CHINESE, AND HE REAFFIRMS THAT SOVIETS FAVOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT "ON A JUST BASIS IN SPIRIT OF EQUALITY, MUTUAL RESPECT, SOVEREIGNTY AND CONSIDERATION OF BOTH STATES' INTERESTS."

4. ARTICLE REITERATES BREZHNEV'S TASHKENT WARNING TO POLITICIANS WHO WOULD PROFIT FROM ABNORMAL SINO-SOVIET REALTIONS. THESE POLITICIANS ARE NOT IDENTIFIED, EXCEPT FOR SPECIFIC CONFIRMATION THAT THEY ARE "IN THE WEST." AT A DIFFERENT POINT IN THE ARTICLE, AUTHOR MAKES WHAT APPEARS TO BE COROLLARY POINT -- NAMELY, THAT SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS HAVE SIGNIFICANCE EXTENDING BEYOND USUAL TIES BETWEEN TWO STATES, AND NO ONE CAN REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO DIRECTION TAKEN BY RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE "TWO GREAT POWERS."

5. IN CONTEXT OF SPECIFYING CONCRETE SOVIET EFFORTS TOWARD BETTER RELATIONS, NEW TIMES RECALLS WITHOUT ATTRIBUTION BREZHNEV'S DECEMBER 1972 OFFER TO PLACE SINO-SOVIET RELATONS ON FOOTING OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IF PEKING UNABLE TO GO BEYOND THAT LEVEL IN RELATIONS WITH "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHICH BASE THEIR RELATIONS PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM." HINT IN LAST PART OF THIS FORMULATION THAT RETURN TO SOCIALIST RELATIONSHIP IS STILL POSSIBLE IS ECHOED IN CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH OF ARTICLE, WHICH DECLARES THAT USSR "WANTS TO SEE CHINA AS A FLOURISHING SOCIALIST POWER" AND CHINESE PEOPLE AS A GOOD NEIGHBOR AND FRIEND.

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6. THIS APPARENT FLEXIBILITY ON QUESTION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE VERSUS ORTHODOX "SOCIALIST" RELATIONSHIP RUNS COUNTER TO EVIDENCE ACCUMULATING IN OTHER MATERIALS THAT THERE IS A MOVE AFOOT TO DECLARE CHINA A NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRY. NEW EXAMPLE OF LATTER TENDENCY IS ARTICLE IN LATEST ISSUE OF "INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS" (FOREIGN MINISTRY'S ORGAN IN FACT BUT NOT NAME). AUTHOR IS G. APALIN, WHO HAS COMMENTED AUTHORITATIVELY ON CHINA IN PAST. APALIN'S ARTICLE, WRITTEN AFTER TENTH PARTY CONGRESS AND SIGNED TO PRESS SEPTEMBER 20, ADDUCES BROAD EVIDENCE THAT PEKING IS WORKING AGAINST INTERESTS OF ENTIRE SOCIALIST CAMP. INTER ALIA, APALIN TRACES FAILURE OF PRC TO COORDINATE ITS POLICY ON VIETNAM WITH OUTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, AN ARGUMENT PERHAPS MEANT TO DEAL WITH RELUCTANCE OF DRV TO

EXCLUDE PRC FROM SOCIALIST RANKS. IN EFFORT TO
PERSUADE RECALCITRANT EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS, APALIN
QUOTES FRG COMMUNIST ORGAN ON CHINESE LACK OF DEVOTION
TO GDR AND ITS GOAL OF ABGRENZUNG. CLUE TO APALIN'S
OBJECTIVES IS HIS FREPUENT CITATION OF MATERIALS
FROM 1969 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE AND HIS
EMPHASIS ON ANALYZING PEKING'S BEHAVIOR IN CALSSICAL
MARXIST JARGON, SUGGESTING THAT HIS ARTICLE IS PART
OF PREPARATIONS FOR NEW COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

7. MOSAIC OF SOVIET CHINA POLICY AS BRODER TALKS
ENTER THEIR FIFTH YEAR IS THUS AN INTRICATE ONE,
RELECTING DILEMMA OF PURSUING A DAMAGE-LIMITATION
STRATEGY IN RELATIONS WITH PEKING, MAINTAINING A
WORLD COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP ROLE AND DEALING WITH
SPILLOVER EFFECTS OF SINO-SOVIET FEUD ELSEWEHRE IN
WORLD. NIKOLAYEV AND APALIN SEEM TO BE IMPALED ON
DIFFERENT HORNS OF THIS DILEMMA.
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